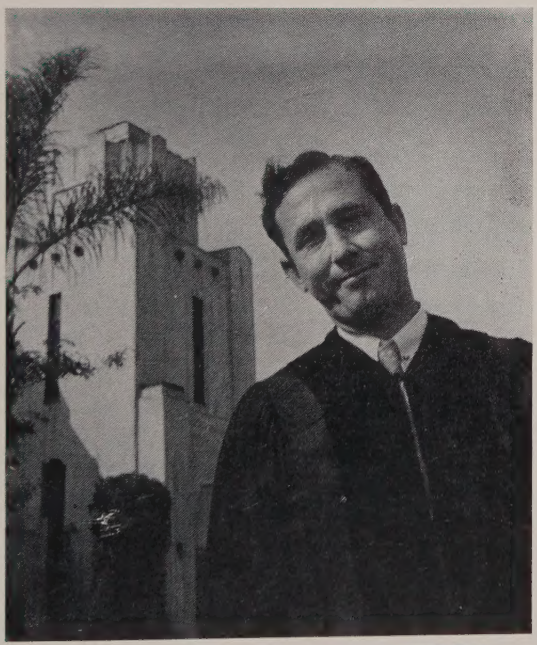
March 1954

Fellowship



DAN GENUNG

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30¢

William Penn Meets a Jury

by Devere Allen

ff A church nourishing a great ideal rather than hugging it to its theological breast, a country forsaking a program it fathered, a justice-minded jury standing firm against threats and bullying, a legal document faring badly in times of national crisis—these are the interesting plots of this month's features. Taken together, they constitute a balanced reading diet for the average reader (if there is such an animal). . . . The story of All People's Christian Church will educate and inspire him. . . . The confession that the President of India makes in *We Failed at That Moment* will fill him with ironic surprise, unless he comes better prepared for it than we were. . . . Devere Allen's retelling of what happens when *William Penn Meets a Jury* (in 1670) will give him heart to rebel against authority-backed intimidation. . . . While the evidence Lawrence Fuchs has unearthed to show that *War Respects No Rights* will make him wonder just what American citizenship means.

FELLOWSHIP

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UNION LEADER 2

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The WORLD in FOCUS

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Private Discussions

No pacifist that we know of had much hope that the late lamented conference of foreign ministers in Berlin would accomplish very much. The mood of the representatives of the United States and the Soviet Union, at the least, is always in such conferences that of two bitter antagonists, circling warily, alert to gain any advantage and to yield none.

No one knows this better than the delegates themselves. The United States' proposal for a unified Germany free to take part in the European army must clearly be completely unacceptable to Russia—as much so as that country's suggestion to recognize the present East German government is unacceptable to the West. Yet these were points from which neither side would budge.

Even the physical arrangements of the conference underlined its sterility. The foreign ministers, flanked by advisers and assistants, sat at four tables that formed a hollow square that must have been at least twenty feet across. A microphone stood in front of each participant. The meetings consisted principally of making speeches at one another, and the speeches were carefully written for the larger audience presumably waiting breathlessly outside.

"Secret agreements secretly arrived at" were the bane of the period between the wars. "Disagreements openly arrived at" appear to be the symbol of our own era.

Major Power

The world of the diplomats is sometimes a strange and wonderful place, having only the most superficial resemblance to the world other men live in. We can think of no one, offhand, who doubts that China's half-billion people and their government are enormously important to the whole world's future. We can think of a few, but only a very few, who doubt that China's present government is firmly in the saddle and is likely to remain there for some time. Yet the United States, according to Secretary Dulles, is firmly committed to a refusal to recognize China as a "major power," or to confer with its government on any but relatively minor problems.

This is a kind of Alice-in-Wonderland thinking, where words, swiftly or solemnly uttered, are believed to have the capacity to alter reality. In government and diplomacy the examples are numerous. One of the most striking was the speech made on December 15, 1944, by Prime Minister Winston Churchill to the House of Commons. Discussing the proposal to expel millions of "Germans" from their homes and farms in East Prussia and Poland—many of them had lived there for generations—the Prime Minister was almost airily unconcerned.

"I am not alarmed at the prospect of the disentanglement of populations," said Churchill, "nor am I alarmed by these large transferences, which are more possible than they ever were before through modern conditions."

The unhappy hordes of uprooted, homeless people in Western Germany remain to haunt the Churchillian unconcern, and China, recognized or not, is likely to prove a spectre of major proportions in future Dulles dreams.

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Sadist

Another of the fairly frequent attempts to explain pacifism away in terms of psychological maladjustment turned up in a recent book about the British pacifist musician, Benjamin Britten, when the authors wrote:

"Britten is a pacifist. It is an established fact that strong and heavily repressed sadism underlies pacifistic attitudes."

To which the *New York Times* reviewer, musicologist

Winthrop Sargent, commented:

"As with all collaborative efforts of this sort, the book reflects several different approaches. Some of them seem fruitful. Others are so loaded with technical jargon, dubious psychology and facile historical analogy that one is tempted to advise the average listener to listen to the music rather than to read about it."

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Optimists

The third annual national convention of the American Rally, scheduled to be held in Chicago, January 22-24, promised in its advance publicity to take action on the following "vital issues": techniques of nonviolence; methods of gaining unity; general welfare; peace, civil defense and anti-militarism; health, cancer, polio and fluoridation; conscription; money reform; totalitarian controls; atomic bomb threat; witch hunt; wages, taxes and prices; foreign policy; political action (including campaigns in California, Michigan, Ohio, Indiana, etc.); justice versus corporations; unemployment; and abundance and cooperative economy.

The list makes one think almost automatically of the by-now famous quotation from "The Workshop Way of Learning," by Earl C. Kelly:

"We have not succeeded in answering all our problems—indeed we sometimes feel we have not completely answered any of them. The answers we have found have only served to raise a whole set of new questions. In some ways we feel that we are as confused as ever, but we think we are confused on a higher level and about more important things."

To which *The New Yorker* commented: "That's progress enough for anyone."

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Quotables

"If you really took the [threat of atomic warfare] seriously you'd better put all your buildings underground. I'd rather be dead."

—Sir George L. Pepler,
Hon. pres., International Federation
for Housing and Town Planning

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"The idea that property values are protected by restricting residential neighborhoods to particular groups is being re-examined. Evidence recently come to light suggests non-segregated residential areas often add to, rather than subtract from, market values."

—*U.S. News and World Report*, Oct. 12, 1953

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"No nation is more force-minded than our own. The people are burdened and unhappy under it but they do not know how to withdraw from it because the stakes seem to be so high that the dreadful game must be played on to fortune or to ruin." —Justice Robert H. Jackson, *New York Times Magazine*, Nov. 8, 1953

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"For an unlimited and unrestrained atomic war cannot result in victory in any real meaning of the term for either side; such a war could have no valid political objective and wars without sound political objectives represent senseless slaughter." —Hanson W. Baldwin, *New York Times*, Jan. 15, 1954

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"Some patriotic Americans . . . are so disturbed by the menace of communism that they are beginning to wonder whether or not it would not be best to chip off a little liberty here and there to preserve the basic fundamentals of democracy. I share their concern about communism, but not their willingness to allow the chipping of any of our liberties. The fact is that you cannot chip any part of the structure of liberty without beginning to destroy the entire structure."

—Ass't. Sec'y of State T. B. Morton, to Amvets Convention, Indianapolis, Sept. 3, 1953

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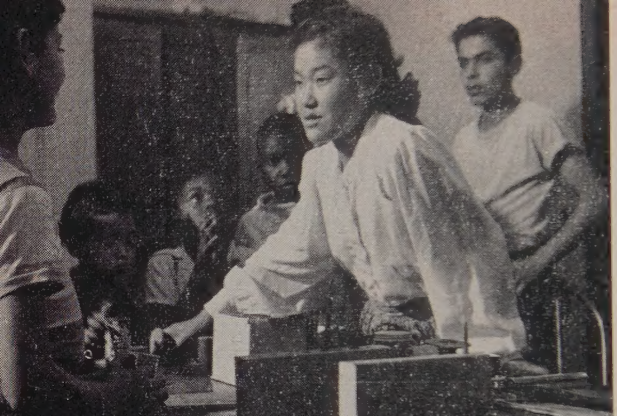
"Every gun that is made, every warship launched, every rocket fired signifies—in the final sense—a theft from those who hunger and are not fed, those who are cold and are not clothed." —President Eisenhower, April 4, 1953

All People's Church lives up to its name; its doors are open to members of all races and national backgrounds represented in its heterogeneous neighborhood. Its congregation at worship vivifies the truth that "In Christ there is no East or West."

Brotherhood Exists

THE EXPERIMENT that is now All People's Christian Church and Community Center in Los Angeles began twelve years ago, in 1942, not long after an apprehensive government had whisked away from the coastal areas all first, second and even third generation Japanese-Americans and resettled them in inland "relocation centers." The homes they were forced to leave behind in Los Angeles were



To stretch its limited funds, All People's trains its youth for supervisory jobs. Here Alice Nakagawa, a junior high girl and an experienced craft assistant in the church's volunteer in-service training program, assigns materials in a wood-burning class.

quickly refilled with a heterogeneous assortment of new residents: Mexicans, Chinese, Negroes, Koreans, and whites of all national backgrounds.

In every respect this almost-overnight change of residency was a social problem that caught the city unprepared. Houses weren't filled; they were overfilled. The close living accentuated differences of language and custom that might have been assimilated under other circumstances. There were no recreation facilities for children and youth, few wholesome pursuits possible for adults. Discrimination in industry added an element of economic frustration, while the tension produced by the war pervaded everything. In no time at all, what had once been a fairly peaceful neighborhood was changed into one seething with hostility.

Into this area, rife with racial tension, where roaming gangs of unsupervised teen-agers boldly displayed knives and even guns, came a young member of the FOR, a minister of the Disciples of Christ,

When differences of opinion ari the playground, as they invariab Community Center children lea acknowledge the rights of o

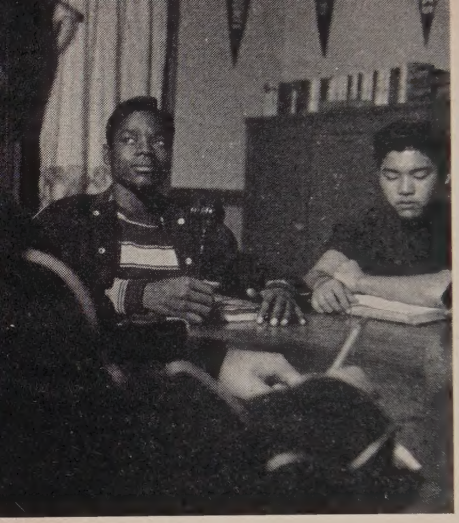
to found a new church. It was to be a house of prayer for all people, a place where brotherhood would not have to be built because it would be assumed, taken for granted. In the words of pastor-director Dan Genung: "We are not trying to build a brotherhood. We are proving that when people come together in the spirit of Jesus, brotherhood already exists."

The growth of All People's Church, using the empty buildings of the Japanese Christian Institute, was slow. The first worship service was attended by the pastor, his wife, one other staff worker and two Chinese children! For months after it opened, the expense of replacing broken windows alone amounted to thirty dollars a month. But four years of hard work finally led to the formal organizing of a church with 43 charter members.

That was just the beginning. Soon it hit its stride. Its membership increased to 250. Its church school enrollment came to 150. Its thirty Community Center clubs served more than 500. And its playground, summer camps and other special activities touched the lives of 2,000 persons.

To help in directing and supervising this comprehensive church program, Director Genung worked out a kind of in-service training program for young people, preparing them for specific assignments at All People's Camp in the summer. Ninth graders with confer-

Children have no "natural" race prejudices. Those prejudices they have are learned from parents and other adults. All People's reverses the process by reinforcing the natural democratic inclinations of childhood.



George Hill presides over a meeting of the Thorian Society, a club for teen-age boys. Six similar clubs take care of the girls and younger boys. The "Indian Guides" is a thriving father-and-son group.

ence training take responsibility for equipment, with the title of *staff assistants*. Eleventh graders become *assistant leaders* and direct the various functional committees of the camp. College-age youth are *counselors-in-training* and take full charge of some phase of camp life.

In every activity of church or community center, All People's displays a working brotherhood. One of its football teams was nicknamed the "United Nations" by spectators impressed by the ability of boys of different racial backgrounds to play in perfect teamwork. But, as Genung would say, "when people come together in the spirit of Jesus," it should neither surprise nor impress us that brotherhood exists.

Where the Church Stands

If we are truly members of the Church and take our standing-ground there rather than in the culture of the age, we shall live in a state of tension at a time when so many things that men feel called upon to do are admittedly difficult to defend on Christian grounds. We must seek less and less to escape the anguish of that tension. We must guard resolutely against the temptation to "resolve" it by lowering or softening the definition of "Christianity" or by giving up the effort to be Christian. . . .

If pronouncements about the international situation are to be made—and churches do in effect make them even when they refrain from doing so in a formal sense—then there must be an effort to envisage needs of the Russian or Chinese people as sharply and intensely as the need of Americans or of our allies of the moment. If the "national interest" of the United States may in some sense enter legitimately into the calculations of churchmen, no less must the "national interest" of Russia. The effort to see and feel as other people see and feel is a Christian responsibility.

The Christian Conscience and War

"We Failed At That Moment"

The President of India, in a poignant plea for nonviolence, tells how his own country fell short of Gandhiji's dream.*

By

Rajendra Prasad

LORD BOYD ORR, Your Excellencies, and Ladies and Gentlemen. Yesterday when I first had the opportunity of meeting the illustrious members of this seminar, I put a question jokingly as to what they would expect me to say today. Yet, behind that joke there was a certain seriousness, because I felt some difficulty as to what I should say.

I felt that Gandhiji—his teaching, his philosophy, his life—all have many facets, and we who have had the privilege of coming into contact with him have not always been able to take a comprehensive view of his entire teaching and occasionally have kept ourselves immersed in those particular aspects with which we were individually concerned.

You will understand the significance of what I am saying when you remember that Gandhiji established a number of institutions dealing with aspects of his teaching. We have had the Spinners' Association, the Village Industries Association, the Talimi Sangh, the *Go Seva Sangh*, and last but not least, the Indian National Congress which, though it had been in existence and functioning for many years before he came on the scene, Gandhiji reorganized; he galvanized it, vitalized it and expanded it beyond all recognition. Now all these various institutions—I have not named all—devoted themselves to certain parts of his teaching. Gandhiji in his own person was the one coordinating factor, the connecting link between all these different institutions.

Gandhiji was not a philosopher or thinker in the sense that he sat in his study, thought out a phil-

* *This article consists of excerpts from a speech delivered by Dr. Prasad at the world seminar on nonviolence in New Delhi last year. The seminar was attended by such notables as Ralph Bunche and Martin Niemöller.*

osophy of life and chalked out a program of action which he left to others to implement. He had some fundamental principles to which he stuck in his life; but with regard to the rest, he took up the work that came to him, found solutions for problems that presented themselves to him and, in that way, without defining and putting down on paper his entire conception of life and society, covered almost the whole of life, particularly in this country. There was no department of life in India which he did not touch, which he did not influence and in which he did not make his contribution. In that way he evolved a complete picture of society, arising not from study or abstract thought but from practical experience.

Associated with Nonviolence

I had another difficulty also, more or less, yet not entirely, personal.

Gandhiji's name is associated with nonviolence, with no-war, and I felt a kind of incongruity in my addressing this conference. I am supposed to be the head of a state which has not renounced war, which has not abjured violence, which still maintains her army; not only that, a state also which has not accepted and implemented Gandhiji's economic program. What right had I, as the head of that state, to address you gentlemen coming from distant countries to learn what Gandhiji did and wanted to do? But I felt, again, that while you could draw inspiration from what Gandhiji has achieved, you could draw guidance from what he attempted to achieve but did not; he left his work and his experiment incomplete. You could also draw some lesson from our attempts and, perhaps even more, from our failures. And I felt, if I could do nothing else, I could draw your attention to this side, and you might perhaps make some use of that.

Must Remove Causes

Gandhiji had a picture of his own for society, because he felt that nonviolence could not be established and violence could not be abjured unless the causes which lead to violence, and which make nonviolence difficult of application, are removed.

Paradoxical as it may seem, Gandhiji made removal of the poverty of our people one of the fundamental planks in his active program, but at the same time, as far as I can judge, he was never enamored of an indefinite and unlimited rise in the standard of our living as dependent upon external things. While he wanted that we should have our essentials of life, that no one should be troubled by want of these essentials, he also felt that no one was entitled to, and no one should desire, more than the essentials.

He wanted a society in which the principal factor would not be the multiplication of wants or the means for supplying these wants in the quickest manner possible, but a society that would ensure to all what is absolutely necessary and, at the same time, not create conditions which cannot but end in competition and, ultimately, in violence.

Gandhiji did not start with a clear-cut program or chart. He took up individual questions as they arose. The biggest question in this country was the question of

freedom; naturally, his attention was very largely concentrated on the attainment of that freedom. To attain freedom, he limited the means which we were to use and insisted not only on not using violence but also on not thinking or talking violence. I am aware that while this was his own attitude, he did not refuse cooperation with others who were not prepared to go so far. In adopting nonviolence as the method for attainment for our freedom, while he himself believed in that kind of nonviolence as a creed, he cooperated with others for whom it was not a creed, but who were prepared, nonetheless, to observe nonviolence in action while engaged in this struggle.

Dr. Rajendra Prasad, President of India
Gov't of India Information Services, N.Y.

Thus it was that Gandhiji was able to gather around him a large number of people who would otherwise not have gone to him if he had insisted upon nonviolence in thought and work also. I know very few people who were really able to exclude violence from thought and there were not a few who betrayed violence in words. But those who actually betrayed violence in action were few, and that is how he succeeded. He was fortunate that he found in this country soil which was fitted for his experiment. We have our own old tradition of nonviolence.

There was another thing which also gave him an advantage, although it is of very doubtful value. We were disarmed, we were unable to fight with arms, and not a few of us saw in his method a way out of our difficult position, when we could win our freedom without resort to arms. There it was, a doubtful advantage, because to that extent it weakened our faith in nonviolence.

Must Apply Internationally

The question now that you have to tackle is the question whether the same method can be applied in dealing with tensions between nations and within nations. Gandhiji thought that it could be applied and that it should be applied; not that he was not conscious of the weakness of human beings, nor that he was foolhardy and would take risks. We have several instances in our own country when he called off a movement which was supposed to have reached its height, when he noticed some weakness. And it was not until the Second World War had made some progress that he gathered courage enough to place before the world this weapon of nonviolence. There were occasions when he was in-

vited by other countries to take his message to them, but his reply used to be: "Let me make good what I claim in my own country, and then there will be time for me to go elsewhere. Otherwise, unless I am able to make good my claim in my own country, what right have I to expect that other people will listen to me?"

"They Knew No Other Method"

During the last war a difficult situation arose, and I am afraid there was a great misunderstanding of his attitude. The rulers of this country—the Government—misunderstood him. That is understandable, and in my view, even excusable, because they knew no other method and felt that in that war, which was a sort of life and death struggle, anyone who was not with them was against them. They were therefore entitled, because Gandhiji did not like to be with them in the war, to treat him as being against them. But the misunderstanding was not only on the part of the Government; the misunderstanding, to some extent, was among our own people and perhaps amongst us also, we who claimed to be closest to him.

Just when the Second World War started, he broke down in the course of an interview with Lord Linlithgow, when he pictured to himself the ruin and devastation that the war would bring to London, which he knew so well. And yet he did not have the least hesitation in declaring that India should not and could not participate in the war or help the war efforts. There is a seeming contradiction in this position, but really there is no such contradiction. He had sympathy for England, just as he would have sympathy for any other people in trouble, but at the same time he was firm in his conviction that war would not solve the problem, that war would not lead the world anywhere, and therefore, while sympathizing, he was not prepared to yield on the fundamental principle.

This was in contrast with what he had done in the First World War, when he had actually supported the Government, gone out of his way to help recruitment of soldiers in this country. Many friends belonging to the pacifist school were unable to understand that position. Gandhiji's view at that time was that the British Empire was, on the whole, for the good of the world. He had not yet lost faith in that Empire. He felt, therefore, that if he was prepared to enjoy security under its aegis, it was his duty to help it in its time of need.

Changed by 1940

His position was completely changed by 1940. He had lost that faith and had engaged the whole country in a serious struggle against the Empire—not against the British people, but against the British rule.

Therefore in 1940 he was in a position to say, "We do not want your protection. We do not care whether you defend us or not; leave us, leave us to chaos or to God." And having reached that stage, he could also say, "No more help of any kind in this war."

We of the Congress parted company. Some felt that it was a good opportunity for bargaining, getting what we wanted on condition of help. Others took a more altruistic view and felt that it was necessary

to help the Allies because their cause was just. Neither of these things moved Gandhiji; he felt that by our participation we would not really be serving either the cause of nonviolence or even the cause of those engaged in the war.

It was, if I may say so, the folly of the British government that they did not accept the help which was offered by the Congress, and thus created a situation in which, though the Congress and Gandhiji had parted company, they were again brought together, because having lost in their attempt to get what they wanted from the British government, they also felt that there was nothing to do but to say that we shall not help in this war. And this is what happened in 1940, and on a very much bigger scale in 1942.

A Lesson from Failure

I said that perhaps you might draw some lesson from our failures. It is to this aspect of our struggle that I desire to draw your particular attention. We failed at that moment and adopted a course which was not liked by Gandhiji, a course of expediency, not of principle, or truth, or nonviolence. No wonder that thereafter we were not able to catch up with his ideals and program. Having slipped there, we have not been able to feel that we can do away with violence and need not have to resort to violence in any circumstance. It was at this stage that Gandhiji wrote his letter to Herr Hitler, published his appeal to Czechs to resist nonviolently and addressed his letter to every Briton not to indulge in war but to achieve what they wanted by nonviolence.

Unfortunately, and to our indelible shame, Gandhiji was taken away from us just at the time when he would have been in a position to make this bigger experiment. We have in history individuals who have experimented with nonviolence in their own lives and taught others to experiment with it in their lives. Gandhiji it was who brought it into play on a large scale to settle differences between groups, between nations.

Found Noble Adversaries

As I said, he found suitable ground in this country and he found also—I must confess—noble adversaries who were capable of yielding to the appeal which nonviolence makes. The British had set a limit to their own action below which they could not and did not go; we must confess that Gandhiji's success was due very largely to himself and his people, but also to the British. I do not know, it would be merely speculating as to what would have happened if we had had an adversary of another kind altogether, who put no limit to his own atrocities, who put no limit to what he would do to an adversary who was proving himself dangerous. I do not know what would have happened. Whether we would have been able to stand the strain or whether even such an adversary would have been won over and conquered by nonviolence is a matter for speculation.

There the experiment remained incomplete, and it is for you now to extend that experiment to that sphere and to find out how far you can succeed in the present age under present conditions.

I heard with great attention and respect the report which Lord

Boyd Orr made. There was one sentence which rather struck me in a peculiar way. You have decided that you would permit maintenance of armies for defensive purposes. I do not know of any war which an aggressive party regards as an offensive war. Every war in world history has been a defensive war, and so long as you keep this room, this loophole open for defensive war, nonviolence in its fullness will not be established. Someone has to take the courage. Gandhiji took the courage so far as his own country was concerned when he said "Leave us to chaos and to God, but please do not involve us in this war and do not expect us to give help in the war."

I do not know what he would say or do if he were alive today to guide us and to give us his inspiration. But I do feel that he made his position perfectly clear when, during the last war, he made an appeal to the fighting parties to desist from war. It will be wrong to imagine that he at any moment contemplated submission to wrong. That was against his whole nature. What he objected to was submission to the lower part of our own nature, that is to say, submission to the sense of hatred, submission to a sense of retaliation, submission to a kind of cowardice, which cannot protect the individual or the nation without striking somebody else.

He wanted that kind of courage which would stand the worst that the enemy could do without even feeling resentment against that enemy. He would resist him to the last, and he would successfully resist him because the last step would be the loss of his own life, and the loss of life meant his victory and defeat for the opponent, because the opponent could not get him to submit to him. Unless some nation today takes its courage in its own hands and comes out with a clear-cut program of no war under any circumstances, defensive or offensive, no armament of any kind, the battle for nonviolence will continue and will not end in its victory.

Some Nation Must Venture

Some nation has to take that courage; I do not know who will. Evidently we today are unable to do it, although we claim to be the inheritors of Gandhiji's teaching. But somebody has to do it, and let me hope that, as a result of the deliberations that you have had, you would be able to carry this message to other countries. There is a saying in our country that sometimes there is no light directly under the lamp, although there may be light all around. I am sure this seminar would have done a good deal if it could lay before the world this aspect of Gandhiji's teaching, which is, I consider, a practical proposition, a proposition which can be implemented if only we have the courage to do it.

The work of the Bruderhof and of other communities certainly explodes the myth that men need the acquisitive motive in order to drive them to effort. The lives of these people show, instead, that normal happiness and contentment are much easier of achievement once the drive for possessions and power over one's fellows has been abandoned. *Manas*, Dec. 30, 1953

WILLIAM PENN MEETS A JURY

Arrested for preaching in the streets, the young Quaker's courage in court found an echo in the jury's stalwart refusal to be intimidated. A message for 1954.

By Devere Allen

Editor, Worldover Press

LEGITIMATE investigation of genuine subversion, in view of what we know about Communism and other philosophies inimical to democratic law and practices, is justified and needed. But where do we draw the line? Few countries are blessed with a finer historic guide in the documents wrought out by the nation's founders to safeguard basic freedoms.

What could apply more aptly to our current situation than the Act of Virginia, passed in 1786? Think of recent methods used by Congressional investigating committees, and compare them to this standard:

> "To suffer the civil magistrate to intrude his powers into the field of opinion and to restrain the profession or propagation of principles on supposition of their ill tendency, is a dangerous fallacy, which at once destroys all liberty; because he being, of course, judge of that tendency, will make his opinions the rule of judgment, and approve or condemn the sentiments of others only as they shall square with or differ from his own. It is time enough for the rightful purposes of civil government for its officers to interfere when principles break out into overt acts against peace and good order."

Such keystones in the arch of liberty were not found ready at hand, but were developed out of concrete cases, usually through the protests of liberty-minded individuals at specific attempts to suppress freedom. How painfully have the ideals of freedom been developed is dramatically shown by the famous trial of William Penn in 1670. Penn, at the age of 26, had gone with William Meade, a former colonel in Cromwell's army, to worship at a Friends meeting in Gracechurch Street, London. But under the Conventicle Act, which barred all worship except that in accord with the Church of England, the meeting place was closed by

soldiers, whereupon Penn began to speak in the street.

Arrested by constables, Penn and Meade were charged as follows: That they did "with force and arms unlawfully and tumultuously assemble . . . to the great terror and disturbance of the peace," etc. When Penn, who knew the law, challenged the sheriff, one Brown, the latter said: "You are not here for worshipping God, but for breaking laws." Penn repeatedly asked what law, but the prosecutors, confounded, could not cite any statute that applied. Nevertheless, Penn and Meade were sent to jail and kept for two weeks in a place described by the young Quaker as so "noisome and stinking that the Lord Mayor would think it an unfit stye for his swine."

WHEN TRIED AT OLD BAILEY, Penn demanded a copy of the indictment, but was refused. The Recorder called him "an impudent fellow."

Penn: "I have asked but one question, and you have not answered me, though the rights and privileges of every Englishman are concerned in it."

Recorder: "If I should suffer you to ask questions till tomorrow morning, you would be never the wiser."

"Penn: "That is according as the answers are."

Dragged away, Penn was still volubly declaring, "I am not to be silent in a case where I am so much concerned; and not only myself but many ten thousand families besides."

The decency of the jury in that trial, and the attempt of the judges to override and terrorize it, suggest why, in our day, committees prefer their own ways rather than legal trials. For that jury came in with a verdict that simply exonerated Meade and found Penn guilty of nothing but speaking in Gracechurch Street. The Recorder was furious. "Gentlemen," he said to the twelve jurymen, "you shall not be dismissed till we have a verdict the Court will accept, and you shall be locked up without meat, drink, fire or tobacco; we will have a verdict or you shall starve for it." Under those conditions the jury was held overnight. Next day, its courage was unbroken. The Lord Mayor warned Penn that if he spoke again he would be placed in fetters and staked to the ground, when that young man replied: "I mind not your fetters."

Time after time the jury's brave spokesman, Edward Bushel, reported the same verdict. A second night, still without food or drink, the twelve were locked up, but stuck to their refusal to satisfy the bullying of the judges. Bushel was told at one point that if he did not yield, he would be mutilated, but he did not quail. The jury now voted definitely "Not guilty." The Recorder exclaimed: "It will never be well with us till something like the Spanish Inquisition be in England."

AS THE JURYMEN were sent away to prison after suffering fines, Penn called out to Bushel, "You are Englishmen, mind your privileges. Give not away your rights." To which Bushel answered: "Nor will we ever do it." Eventually the jurymen were released under habeas corpus. Bushel at once brought suit against his judges, and won, the Court of Common pleas asserting that judges might "try to open the eyes of the jurors but not to

ead them by the nose."

The rise of civilization is marked all the way by similar stepping stones. It is not those who remain silent toward the bully or the despot who contribute anything, but those who openly protest. In 1954 it is not different from 1670. As William Ellery Channing said during the War of 1812: "If men abandon the right of free discussion; if, awed by threats, they suppress their convictions; if rulers succeed in silencing every voice but that which approves them; if nothing reaches the people but what would lend support to men in power—farewell to liberty."

That must not happen, either at the hands of the Communists, or of reckless anti-Communists. To speak out, as William Penn put it in those tense days nearly 300 years ago, is an "indispensable duty."

WAR Respects No Rights

By Lawrence Fuchs

Constitutional freedom, like truth, is a casualty of total war

F ALL-OUT WAR with the Soviet Union should ever come, it is quite possible that the President of the United States would be obliged to authorize all military area commanders in the nation to intern indefinitely individuals who, for whatever reason, in the judgment of the commanders, were obstructing the war effort.

During an atomic war it is likely that elections for members of the House of Representatives and even Presidential elections would be suspended because of the strain on the national war effort which they would cause.

It makes no difference that cherished constitutional rights and liberties would be abridged. The Supreme Court, in many historic cases, has made it clear that the war powers of the Congress and the Commander-in-Chief are limitless, that liberties must fall when in conflict with national survival.

The famous Civil War case of *Ex Parte Milligan* points up the contending philosophies and constitutional issues involved. Milligan, a civilian, was arrested in Indiana in 1864 by General Hovey, Northern Commander of the militia district in that state, on the charge of ini-

tiating insurrection. A military commission sentenced him to be hanged, but in December of 1866, the Supreme Court upset this judgment. The judges all conceded that in an actual theater of operations the ordinary rights of citizens must yield to paramount military necessity, but they insisted that where the civil courts were open, military needs must be submerged by the demands of justice.

Constitution vs. Preservation

The Court was confronted with the logically impossible task of reconciling the philosophy of national preservation with the philosophy of full and continuous application of the Constitution. It set the precedent for all future dilemmas of this sort by asserting that all provisions of the Constitution must always remain pure and by suggesting, at the same time, that the government has enough power to win wars under the Constitution anyway.

The ruling in the Milligan case that military necessity creates the *right* of military action has found historic acceptance in our courts of the 20th Century. Sometimes the Court has told the military that it has gone too far,[1] but most often Supreme Court judges have been obliged to acknowledge the power of the national preservation argument and, furthermore, to take the word of generals as to what is necessary to defend the nation in a given situation.

Such decisions seem inescapable in the light of the highly complicated and technical business of making war. The Court may have the primary job of protecting the Constitution, but the generals have a job too. They have wars to win. In recent years the Court has refused to set itself up as a board of strategy to determine what is militarily necessary.

Supreme Court decisions of the last war clearly indicate that when the rule of military necessity comes into conflict with the dictum of continuous constitutional liberty, the Court will acquiesce in the destruction of liberties.

Six weeks after Pearl Harbor, President Roosevelt issued an executive order that authorized the Secretary of War to prescribe military areas in the United States and to designate military commanders to supervise movement in and out of these areas. Four weeks later Congress passed a resolution making it a misdemeanor to "knowingly enter in, remain in or leave" prescribed military areas contrary to the orders of the War Secretary or the Commanding Officer of that area.

Japanese-Americans Removed

Subsequently 112,000 Japanese residents of Western states, of whom nearly two out of three were natural-born citizens, were taken from their homes and placed, first, in temporary camps, and then in what were called "relocation centers." Some Japanese, disobeying one or more of the exclusion orders of the Commander on the West Coast, defied the Congressional Act of March 1942.

One of these was a young man named Gordon Hirabayashi. In District Court he testified that he had been taught by his parents and teachers that any distinction based

[1] See, for instance, such famous cases as *Mitchell v. Harmony, Sterling v. Constantin*, or more recently, *Duncan v. Kahnamoku* and *Ex Parte Endo*.

on ancestry or race was contrary to everything that the Constitution stood for and that on the basis of this he felt justified in breaking the curfew edict of the West Coast Commander. The Supreme Court, in reviewing the case, simply accepted the contention of the government that "the crucial question is whether the action taken (internment and exclusion based on ancestry) was, in the honest judgment of those charged with the responsibility for defending our shores, reasonably necessary from a military point of view." The Court found it impossible to call General DeWitt, the Commander in question, a liar. Of him and his colleagues, it said: "It is not for any court to sit in review of the wisdom of their action or substitute its judgment for theirs."

Conflicting Orders

In a similar case, *Fred Toyosaburo Korematsu v. the United States,* young Korematsu found himself confronted with two military orders, one that obliged him to report to an assembly center located in an area from which the other edict excluded him. He defied both orders and was convicted under the same Congressional Act of March 1942. As it did when the Supreme Court considered the Hirabayashi case, the government purported to prove that discrimination against persons of Japanese ancestry was necessary because (1) the Japanese had an interest in another homeland, (2) they professed a dangerous religion—Shintoism, and (3) they were not easily assimilated into our national culture.

The General's Word

Once again the majority of the Court decided that it had to take the general's word as to what was necessary to save the country. That the general had definite racist tendencies and an outlook easily classified as "authoritarian" apparently made no difference to even such staunch defenders of civil liberty as Justices Black and Douglas. On April 13, 1943, while testifying before a House Naval Affairs Subcommittee in San Francisco, General DeWitt gave some indication of why he thought his exclusion orders had been necessary:

> A Jap's a Jap. It makes no difference whether he is an American citizen or not. I don't want any of them. We got them out. They were a dangerous element, whether loyal or not. It makes no difference whether he is an American citizen. Theoretically he is still a Japanese and you can't change him by giving him a piece of paper.

In another outburst, DeWitt said: "The Japanese race is an enemy race and while many second and

Lawrence Fuchs

. . . has for the past two years been on the faculty of Brandeis University, Waltham, Massachusetts, as an instructor in politics. He was at one time National Secretary of the United World Federalists.

third generation Japanese born on United States soil, possessed of United States citizenship, have become Americanized, the racial strains are undiluted."

The real meaning of these Japanese cases lies in the willingness of our highest court to acquiesce to racism because military "experts" argue its military necessity. The wholesale imprisonment of citizens for acts they might possibly perform was sanctioned under the name of national preservation.

Even the Milligan decision, setting the standard for constitutional purity, acknowledged that military needs come first on the battlefield. But in total war the battlefield is everywhere. Military necessity will brook no delay in organizing the country under atomic attack. Martial law, such as was applied abusively and indiscriminately in Hawaii during the early stages of World War II, can be expected.

Military necessity has obliged humane and lawfully minded presidents to disregard the Constitution in the past. Lincoln offers the classic example of wartime quasi-dictatorship, and Presidents Jefferson, Polk, Wilson and Franklin Roosevelt all took extra-constitutional steps to give military protection to the country. The ideology of national preservation has been the most powerful driving force in international politics for the past two hundred years. It is this force that prompted Thomas Jefferson to suggest that "the strict observance of the written law is doubtless one of the highest duties of a good citizen, but it is not the highest. The laws of necessity, of self-preservation, of saving our country when in danger, are of higher obligation."

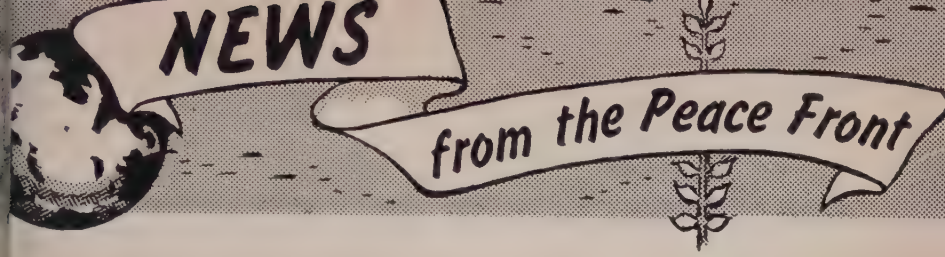
The facts are incontestable. A total war for survival will at least temporarily, and perhaps for a long time submerge those constitutional liberties which now appear immutable. The Courts will not and cannot prevent it.

Practically no one in India except convinced Communists admires Russia uncritically, or China. . . . Indians tend to think of Russia and China as having problems comparable to India's. They are eager to learn about the methods by which Russia, the satellite countries, and particularly China have been trying to raise their agricultural productivity, provide alternative employment for the excess rural population, execute vast irrigation and river-control projects, and achieve substantial industrial development. . . .

Perhaps the Indian attitude toward the United States these days contains equal parts of admiration and irritation. India may express relatively less annoyance with the U.S.S.R. and the other Communist countries because it has much less to do with them. As compared with the thousands of American business men, diplomatic and consular personnel, missionaries, exchange students and teachers, big-game hunters and other tourists, a bare handful of Russians come to India. . . . India's feelings about . . . technical aid resemble those of a bride about her mother-in-law's offer of cooking lessons. India wants to know everything about how the United States has achieved its miraculous efficiency and prosperity but resents the slightest criticism of its own methods.

Alice Thorner, in *The Nation*, Jan. 2, 1954

Jan. 2, 1954



March Sees Beginning of Membership Drive

This month has been set aside for a concentrated membership solicitation campaign. The idea, on the national level, is for each individual in the Fellowship to send to the New York office the names and addresses of those persons he knows to be sympathetic to the pacifist program or who might be interested in reading pacifist literature. On the local level, programmed meetings will introduce pacifism to as many persons as can be gotten together. Each staff member (national and regional) will visit as many local groups as he can in a certain area; twenty has been considered a fair distribution.

The peace mission to churches that George Houser has primary responsibility for is part of the whole membership program. The mission is being confined, for obvious reasons, to those cities where a strong nucleus of Fellowship members can carry out the actual work of contact and speaking. Six to ten volunteers will be used in each city. It is thought that at the workshop preceding this year's Labor Day Weekend national conference these peace mission volunteers could report on their work, evaluating successes and failures and bringing to the attention of co-members throughout the country the strategies and techniques they employed.

Literature aimed at church people as well as to the secular public, including young people of draft age, has been printed in large quantities. Discussion guides for Fellowship reprints have been mimeographed for study groups.

Young Indian FOR Supports Land Reform

Though the Indian FOR, as such, is not formally committed to Acharya Vinoba Bhave's land gift movement, individual members in certain areas are taking a keen interest in it.

The goal of the Bhoodan movement, as it is called, is to receive as gifts from landowners, a sixth of the cultivable land of India, about 50 million acres, for distribution to the landless. "Though the Bhoodan movement does not claim to be the total solution to the land problem," acknowledges the FOR (India) Executive Council, "we are convinced that the movement has far-reaching potentiality in bringing about a change of heart among the people in their responsibility to the landless peasants in particular and the under-privileged generally."

Under national FOR direction, four bishops of the Churches of India have issued to the general

Christian public a statement that urges Christians to give money, land, and time to the movement. Also, the Manganam FOR cell in cooperation with a young Christian action group, organized last summer a Bhoodan camp that netted and turned over to Bhave 95 acres of land.

Controversy Over Pacifist Church Continues

The controversy regarding a pacifist church has gone on now in Great Britain for ten years. The Movement for a Pacifist Church of Christ helps keep the issue alive. Its December newletter received here lately publishes interesting correspondence between two pacifists, one strongly against, the other just as definitely in favor of the founding of a separate communion for pacifists.

Although the overall position of the orthodox churches on war may be unsatisfactory to pacifists, says the Rev. Leslie Jollie, they do not exclude members on the ground of their pacifism nor forbid them freedom to express their views. If and when they did, pacifists would be justified in further rending the Body of Christ. Also, for Jollie, to break away to form a separate body of believers would imply that he judged his non-pacifist Christian friends to be "so unworthy of the name of 'Christian' that I dare not associate with them any longer." This, he concludes, is "an appalling judgment" he can not make.

Frank Hancock thinks differently: "Since the churches are unrepentant of their past devotion to this God (a God of Battles as well as of Love), and even in peace time will not renounce their depending, in a crisis, on militarism, but hug these sins to their hearts, there are some of us who will go where we can find fellowship in the worship of an Eternal God of Love and Peace. . . . If our new Pacifist Church Movement is a 'further rending of the Body of Christ,' is it comparable to the 'rending of the Body of Christ' when Christians of different nations tear each other in war?"

"Minutemen" Report Urges UMT Now

The National Security Training Commission, originally set up by Congress in 1951 to draw up a UMT program and reactivated by President Eisenhower last spring, submitted its report to the President on December 14. That report, entitled "Twentieth Century Minutemen, a Report to the President on a Reserve Forces Training Program," urges that Congress enact into law a UMT program simultaneously with the Selective Service law.

Upon registering, young men of 18 would draw lots to determine whether liable for six months military training under UMT or two years military service under Selective Service. Compulsory reserve membership for men in both categories brings the number of years that a man would be militarily obliged to eight. In an emergency, UMT trainees would be called before veterans.

As under the present draft law, conscientious objectors must perform civilian service contributing to national health, safety or in-

terest. Those drawing UMT would give six months, those drawing Selective Service, two years.

Although Defense Secretary Charles Wilson and Assistant Secretary of Defense for Manpower, John Hannah, have declared that the manpower pool will not permit simultaneous operation of the draft and UMT for some time, the Commission reasons that lowered physical and mental standards for UMT inductees, combined with a literacy program for these men, would enable successful operation of the plan. Major General Lewis B. Hershey, Director of Selective Service, has indicated strong support of the Commission's findings.

This recent UMT proposal is not substantially different from the one offered Congress in 1952 and rejected by a vote of 236-162 in the House.

NATO Increases Hardships on CO's

According to a recent War Resisters' International news release, the plight of Norwegian CO's has been aggravated by the military demands of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization:

"Before the last war the CO's had a 'good time' in Norway, but now the situation is very much altered. The crisis of the world, and especially the Atlantic Pact, has claimed the militarization of our country, and the military leaders are working hard to procure as many soldiers as NATO is asking for. Consequently our CO's are met with the greatest animosity.

"At the same time an increasing number of young men apply for civil service. . . . Most of the CO's come from the northern parts of the country, where in some districts practically all young men are CO's. It is perhaps not surprising that the Ministry of Justice under these circumstances lose their patience, so that very often the applications are rejected without any obvious reason. . . . It seems to depend just on chance whether an application is accepted or rejected."

Vasyl Sereda, the DP conscientious objector who has been having such trouble with the Immigration Service, should be happier now. On December 31 the Board of Immigration Appeals issued an order terminating the latest deportation proceedings brought against him under the McCarran Act, and on February 1 he was released on parole from the Petersburg, Virginia, federal prison. He has obtained a job in Newark, N. J., where his family lives.

Special registrants with sufficient credit in Civilian Public Service to exempt them from the present draft will be reclassified IV-A under a new executive order. IV-A has previously been used only for registrants with credits for military duty.

A hearing officer who became interested in Mennonite principles and doctrines while interviewing a CO registrant of that communion invited a leader of the Mennonite Church to talk before a luncheon group of his own Episcopal Church.

A responsible poll taken recently by the Purdue University Opinion Panel reveals that sixty percent of high school youth would deprive conscientious objectors of the right to vote.

Heifer Project Pleased With 1953

The year just past was the most active in the history of Heifer Project, ten-year-old goodwill agency that distributes livestock and poultry to needy farm families throughout the world. Twenty-two shipments were required to deliver the 285 goats, 160,770 chickens, 425 cattle, and 384 pigs donated by church groups, service organizations and interested individuals and destined for regions as distant as Iran and as close as Kentucky.

The livestock is given to selected rural families on the basis of need and the ability to give adequate care. In most cases, recipients promise to give the first-born offspring to some neighbor who missed out on the first distribution.

The chickens given to the Egyptians will lay eggs twice as large and twice as plentiful as the native chickens and, on the same amount of feed, will grow almost two times as large. The forty Brown Swiss bulls to be used for artificial insemination in Iran could sire over 800,000 calves. By crossbreeding with native cattle, livestock will be developed that can adapt to the local climatic and feed conditions and yet be superior producers of beef and milk. The calves will grow as large as their mothers within a year and will give from two to three times as much milk.

Since 1944 when Heifer Project started its relief program with a modest shipment of heifers to Puerto Rico, twenty-nine countries have been grateful recipients of its gifts. The National Council of the FOR is represented in the organization.

Korean Housing Team Arrives for Work

Three members of the Houses for Korea reconstruction team have arrived in that country to take up their work. They are Field Project Director Dr. Joseph Alter, M.D., of Bellevue, Washington; Howard James Scharschmidt, of Sheridan, Oregon; and Sherwood Boyd Martin, of Roseville, California. A fourth worker, public health nurse Marion L. Field of San Francisco, expects to sail on April 6. Still needed is a concerned and experienced builder.

Floyd Schmoe, director for five years of Houses for Hiroshima, heads up this project too. The idea, he says, is "to take an entire destroyed village and to do what we can with the material and spiritual resources at hand" to rebuild homes and social institutions. Although our work will be *direct* relief, our method will be to work *with* the people in the solution of their problems." This work of building model homes for the Koreans to see and copy has the approval and support of UNKRA, the United Nations Korea Rehabilitation Agency, and the Korean Ministry of Social Affairs. Kumyangjang-Ni village in Kyonggi Do Province, in which Seoul is located, will be the team's headquarters.

A recent trip to the peninsula gave Schmoe a better idea of what his agency is up against. He found the ROK government energetic and resourceful in spite of its financial bankruptcy, and the Koreans themselves, though blighted with fear, confusion and cynicism, still "ambitious and willing to work hard."

Prominent Members Do Lots of Talking

In January, *Professor Harold Ehrensperger* of Boston University told the 2,500 students attending the national conference of the Methodist Student Movement meeting at Lawrence, Kansas, that the United States should try to "transform its culture into a truly Christian one instead of relying on force." He added that "religion in this country is a name, an institution, not an experience of life."

Addressing a conference of executives of eighteen councils of churches in New England, New York, New Jersey and Delaware, *Dr. Robert Calhoun* of the Yale Divinity School forecast that the Second Assembly of the World Council of Churches to be held at Evanston next August "will be the most crucial in the world organization's history."

In Nashville, *Dr. Roland Wolseley* of the Syracuse University School of Journalism served as a resource leader for a seminar on religious journalism sponsored by that city's daily paper, the *Tennessean.*

Dr. Albert T. Rasmussen of Colgate-Rochester Divinity School is making a survey in Buffalo, New York, to improve church service and leadership, in the course of which he made a statement critical of those clergymen and laymen who show class and moralistic snobbery and who want to keep their church "exclusive for the 'better people.'"

In Columbus, Ohio, the appearance of *Dr. Nels F. S. Ferré* of the Vanderbilt University divinity school before the Ohio Pastors Convention took place as scheduled in spite of one local minister's complaint that Dr. Ferré was a "liberal apologist for the Marxian philosophy."

On January 6, twelve simultaneous gatherings from coast to coast recognized the 70th birthday of evangelist *Dr. E. Stanley Jones.* Dr. Jones' sixteen books have sold a total of 2,678,915 copies; his *Christ of the Indian Road* has been translated into twenty languages.

Dr. Kenneth Boulding, professor of economics at the University of Michigan, spoke to members of the Catholic Economic Association on "The Principles of Personal Responsibility in Economic Life." He expressed his concern that "commercial life frequently leads to the development of the type of personality which mistakes the abstractions of commerce for the realities of existence, and hence loses much of the richness of full human relationship."

Open Door Group Seeks American Hosts

The international study-travel organization known as "Servas" (from the Esperanto verb, to serve) or the Open Door is seeking Americans who will be hosts to foreign travelers, mainly students. Already a thousand persons in this country have open doors, but more are needed, especially in the Deep South and in New York City.

The director of "Servas" is pacifist Bob Luitweiler, at one time associated with the Gandhian movement in India. The various national committees are all maintained by volunteers, who often

must pay office expenses out of their own pockets.

"Servas" feels that the cause of world understanding is greatly served by these intimate contacts between foreign travelers and their hosts. Foreign students in this country, for instance, can through this arrangement see aspects of American life buried under McCarthy-laden headlines. "We are a movement interested in world brotherhood," says Bob Luitweiler. "We work with the Quakers, various religious groups, and other nonpolitical social movements. . . . In Europe where most of the traveling has been so far, over 40 persons from all parts of the world have used the open doors. A Gandhian law student from Chile, an architect from South Africa, an Arab student from Algeria, and a Hindu from South India were among them."

The first piece of "Servas" literature was written in a Quaker workcamp in Germany with a Communist typewriter. Some Socialists in Hamburg mimeographed it, while some capitalists gave the first "Servas" volunteers a lift in their car!

Americans planning trips to Europe are encouraged to use the Open Door facilities if they have a serious interest in understanding one country in particular and are not contemplating a "grand tour" of the whole of Europe. Inquiries can be addressed to Gould Farm, Great Barrington, Massachusetts.

First IDPA Report Explains Program

The first annual report of the International Development Placement Association, with headquarters in New York, tells better than we could the kind of work this young organization does:

"IDPA was established to help young persons find their proper roles in programs of economic and social development in the underdeveloped areas. It came into being because no other organization filled this need and because the U.S. Government and the United Nations would generally not employ young persons in their programs of technical assistance and economic development.

"The founders of IDPA made several assumptions about how the organizations might carry out such a program. IDPA would announce the program to interested persons and organizations, receive and process applications screen applicants, refer those approved to organizations which needed them abroad, and let organizations and applicants make their own arrangements for employment. . . .

"It was also originally assumed that it would be best to concentrate the attention of the staff on finding job placement opportunities with local organizations, at the local wage and under local living conditions. . . .

"We need to do a great deal of research into the conditions which prevail in the counties and localities where we send people. We must communicate frequently, and in detail, with our supporters and potential recruits. . . .

"We now feel that it would be propitious to develop . . . international connections for recruiting as well as placement, for sometimes we are asked to fill positions for which we cannot find properly qualified Americans."

Jottings

Allan A. Hunter has been granted a sabbatical leave of 3½ months by his congregation at Mt. Hollywood Congregational Church, Los Angeles, to act as FOR Regional Secretary in the Southwest. He replaces Glenn Smiley, now national Field Secretary opening up the Great Lakes region.

An International Hostel and study center was opened recently at Sevagram, India, where Gandhi spent a good deal of time in his later years. Also, Prime Minister Nehru has just dedicated a Wardha, near Nagpur, a Center for Gandhian Studies. At its international house students from different countries will study and exchange views on Gandhi's philosophy.

The Fellowship of Reconciliation, after conducting an exchange of correspondence with authorities on the subject, has condemned a U.S. embargo on the shipment of antibiotics and sulfonamides to Communist China and North Korea. Among the so-called "free nations," the United States alone refuses to relax this prohibition.

The government of Prime Minister Daniel Malan now allows no "foreign" non-white students in South Africa's educational institutions.

Church World Service's "One Great Hour of Sharing" will be observed in tens of thousands of churches on Sunday, March 28, with thirty-six communions participating. Korea, Germany and Austria, Yugoslavia, India, Pakistan and the Near East will benefit most from this year's appeal.

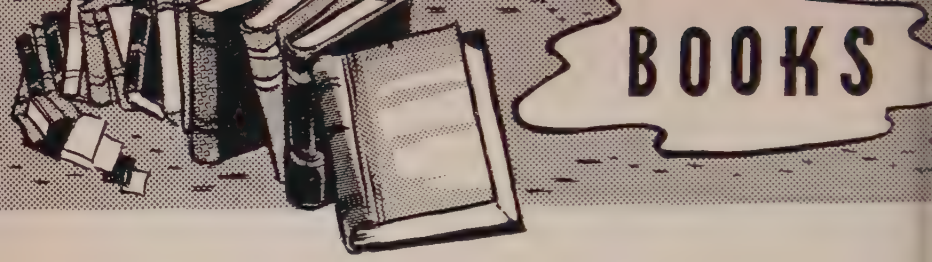
Professor Harold Ehrensperger of Boston University is now Chairman of the New England F.O.R. He returned last fall from India where he spent several years in rural education programs, became a friend of Vinoba Bhave and worked with Muriel Lester to found the Indian F.O.R.

The Southern Railroad has ended all alleged discrimination against Negro travelers in its dining cars. Also, during a recent meeting of the all-Negro National Baptist Convention, race barriers fell for the first time in Miami Beach hotels.

The November 1953 issue of *The New Zealand Christian Pacifist* carries an excellent behind-the-headlines report of the British Guiana situation. Its address: Box 2400, Wellington, C. 1, N. Z.

Rex Hillary, the brother of Sir Edmund Hillary of recent Mount Everest history, was a CO and spent three years in a New Zealand prison during the last war.

Kirby Page, Box 247, La Habra, Calif., seeks letters, clippings, articles, photos, etc., that will be of help to him as he prepares a biography of Sherwood Eddy, to be entitled *A Valiant Prophet, The Life and Times of Sherwood Eddy.*



A Case for Sanity

Unconditional Hatred, by Captain Russell Grenfell. Devin-Adair, New York, 1953. 273 pp., $3.75.

Captain Grenfell of the Royal Navy is certain that war cannot be abolished, but he wants to make it more restrained and plausible, as in days of old when competent leadership kept war within bounds because it knew that it would be necessary to live with the vanquished. To him, unconditional surrender does not make sense, nor does it seem necessary to have world war. England was misled into the two world wars, and the United States ought to have enough sense in its splendid isolation to preserve neutrality.

The captain shows that the Germans have been relatively unwarlike and maintains that "all nations are as basically bad as each other" and that "failing exceptional influences they will all behave in roughly similar fashion in similar circumstances."

He loads Britain with a full share of responsibility for the world wars by reason of official bungling and violation of armistice and treaty terms; as also for the present mess by reason of repudiation of promises in the Atlantic Charter. It was the British who started the bombing of civilians in World War II and conducted a frantic campaign to blame that enormity on the Germans. Churchill seems to have enjoyed war to the neglect of political intelligence. Britain professed to be peace-loving while rebuffing German peace overtures even after it was apparent that Germany could not win. It is now evident that total war is a political device involving verbal manipulation of facts.

According to Grenfell, a nation should go to war only to protect its own interests. "No country has a natural duty to fight anywhere or to kill anybody. If there is a moral duty at all in this connection, it is not to fight and not to kill. Every country that keeps out of a world war is a country saved for peace and civilization. If enough keep out, a world war ceases to be such but dwindles into a localized conflict, and a localized war is less dangerous than a general one precisely because there is a substantial body of non-belligerents who can take a detached and temperate, if not actually impartial, view of the quarrel, and whose influence may therefore be useful in discouraging belligerent extremism."

Pacifists will not be interested in trying to make war sane and reputable, but they will find in this book funds of material for discrediting war in general.

—Arthur W. Calhoun

Reply to Sophisticates

What Can I Know? by Herrymon Maurer. Harper Brothers, 1953. 243 pp., $3.50.

Herrymon Maurer has taught in China and written a brilliant book on the clash between East and West. He has been a Contributing Editor of *Fortune* and also editor and writer of Pendle Hill pamphlets.

In this his most important book he gets down, as the title suggests, to the ultimate problems of life and the meaning of prophetic religion. He discusses the case of the sophisticated modern who declares there is no truth and thinks that he is saying "something eternally and unquestionably true." He tells of a friend who faced a complicated personal problem and said he would pray about it. A few days later he reported that "his course was clear." He was convinced that he would strengthen his character by dodging his responsibility.

A penetrating analysis of modern thought or intellectualism, and the contrasting prophetic, or spiritually realistic, outlook on life, this book serves also as an aid to devotion and meditation and a challenge to seek encounters with truth and God, rather than explanations of them.

—A. J. M.

"The Fiery Positive"

War and Peace, and the Christian Mind, by James Thayer Addison. The Seabury Press, Greenwich, Conn. $2.

One of the responsibilities of individual pacifists is not so much to "sell" pacifism to others, as it is to place the challenge of the pacifist way of life before others that they may judge for themselves. Today men must be helped to make more than a preconceived decision for or against war. This book by the Rev. Addison is useful in this regard.

For Addison gives the thinking of the Church on the issue of war and peace and shows that there is a legitimate place for pacifists in today's world. In a day of "McCarthyism" this book is a breath of fresh air. The conventional Christian is given the opportunity to re-evaluate his thinking and prejudices on war; and the pacifist is helped to a better understanding of his position.

"The pacifist," says Addison, "is literally a *peacemaker.* He is not a passive or negative person who proposes to lie back and do nothing in the face of injustice, unrighteousness, and rampant evil. He stands for 'the fiery positive.' Pacifism is not a theory; it is a way of life. It is something you *are and do.* If that is not pacifism on the average, it is surely pacifism at its best; and at its best, it should be judged."

In a time when there is need for quiet thought on serious matters, this book happily comes along.

—S. N. McCain, Jr.

Useful

Mandate to Humanity, by Edwin McNeill Poteat. Abingdon-Cokesbury, 1953. 231 pp., $3.75.

This is an excellent interpretation of the Ten Commandments by a stimulating writer. He is concerned not only with revealing the origin and early meaning of the Commandments, but also with their modern relevance. He believes the culture of the West is threatened both by "moral indifferent-

ism and the aggressive amoralism of the Marxist philosophy." His demonstration that our culture is based on this Mandate and the doctrine of man implicit in it, is a clear contrast to the Marxist culture. *Mandate to Humanity* is useful for sermon material as well as good for ordinary reading.

—JOHN SWOMLEY

For the Specialists

Police-State Methods in the Soviet Union, by David Rousset, translated by Charles R. Joy. Beacon Press, 1953. 64 pp., $1.50.

Coercion of the Worker in the Soviet Union, by David Rousset, translated by Charles R. Joy. Beacon Press, 1953. 63 pp., $1.50.

These two companion volumes are part of the Beacon Series in Soviet Tyranny and Power. They were prepared by the International Commission Against Concentrationist Regimes, under the direction of David Rousset. well-known French writer.

The two books document the practices of the Soviet regime, as over against its claim to be an industrial democracy with safeguards guaranteed by the Soviet Constitution.

At this late date it is hardly necessary to labor the point that there is a sharp contradiction between Soviet practice and theory. While in France, for example, the publication of these books may have led to heated argument in a number of circles—labor, intellectual and political—for this country, these two volumes will be of interest primarily to the Soviet specialist or the political researcher.

—CHARLES WALKER

for your

MEETINGS

To help in arranging good meetings, discussion guides have been prepared for some of the important articles that have appeared in FELLOWSHIP *and been reprinted. Order a supply today:*

The Stages of Nonviolence

How nonviolence actually worked in war and occupation in France during World War II. By André Trocmé.

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What kind of pacifist strategy can meet the demands of these days. By George Houser.

Calculated Risk

What a pacifist political program would look like in mid-Twentieth Century.

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By the author of *The New Testament Basis of Pacifism,* G. H. C. Macgregor.

South Africa Sows the Wind

How the Africans have turned to nonviolence to win freedom.

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The prospects of universal vs. unilateral disarmament.

The Totalitarian State and the Individual Conscience

By Culbert Rutenber.

Discussion set (reprint and guide) 10c; in quantities of 5 or more, 5c.

Fellowship Publications

21 Audubon Ave., New York 32, N.Y.

On Paying Taxes

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

Ernest Bromley's letter in your January number is in complete accord with what I feel, and I have just written him that I doubt very much whether the value of "Fellowship" being continued is greater—that is toward peace—than the "witness" you speak of.

The words "deep and prayerful concern" have become such a cliché that their meaning is lost in clouds.

VALERIE RIGGS
Cambridge, Mass.

More on Same

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

Ernest Bromley protested, in the January issue, the F.O.R. payment of something like $6500 a year to the government, some $5800 of which is used for war. The Editor replied that because of the difficulties involved in not paying for war, the staff, the National Council and the F.O.R. membership believed it better to finance war.

From time to time, FELLOWSHIP carries articles on the virtuousness of the Way of the Cross and on the Power of Suffering. Ernest asked the F.O.R. to carry only a small Cross and to undergo suffering somewhat less than that of burning at the stake.

Perhaps FELLOWSHIP ought to quit carrying articles on the Cross and suffering. People might get wrong ideas about the F.O.R.

WALTER GORMLY,
Mt. Vernon, Iowa

"Indefensible Ground"

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

Your correspondent, James C. Goodwin, in the January issue takes surprising and indefensible ground when he urges that we be tolerant of liquor drinking and use of tobacco, even though he limits such to "moderate" use. Does he not know that even moderate use of liquor unfits one for safe driving of an auto? And does he not realize that the moderate smoker is so obnoxious to the comfort of others, and that such smoker loses his courtesy almost invariably? As for liquor, how about the 9000 or more killed in one year by auto accidents in which liquor was a casual factor? And does not your correspondent realize that all alcoholics began as moderate drinkers? So why be tolerant?

CLARENCE H. LEE
Palos Verdes Estates, Cal.

Animal Kingdom

The Editors:
FELLOWSHIP:

Are animals here only to be used, abused, eaten and vivisected? I ask this question of all pacifists. I am

always deeply grieved when I reflect that good deep-thinking men relate war and bloodshed in human terms only, and relate peace in human social welfare only.

I believe that war hurts every living creature, even the most innocent, but I can accept no peace that goes on hurting dumb creatures. I know the cause of pacifism is a wonderful, true and great one. I also know that everyone cannot embrace every cause, but I know that both truth and compassion are one, and are all-inclusive.

ALICE VIRGINIA FACTER
Los Angeles, Cal.

Of Trees and Men

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

A news item in the N. Y. *Times* reported that "American chestnut trees, virtually wiped out by a fungus blight during the last fifty years, are making a comeback after being crossed with Chinese chestnuts."

It seems that cross-breeding of American trees with Oriental blight-resistant trees produced a new tree that flourishes now, here in our country, and provides a good crop of chestnuts, and hardwood for telephone poles.

This should be cheerful news for pacifists and war-resisters! Maybe with sufficient persistence a war-resisting strain can be grafted into American culture. And if this happened here we could supply the war-resistant strain to forest the world.

HELEN MEARS
New York City

ADVERTISEMENTS

NEW YORKERS: Volunteer helpers invited at FOR national office, 21 Audubon Avenue in City. Need is greatest at time of mailings: scintillating conversation accompanies all mailing bees. FOR staff also is behind on filing. Phone LOrraine 8-8200 if you can help in any way.

PEACE—BUILD A WORLD THAT IS RIGHT FOR CHILDREN, 50c. Colorful, attractive, graphic peace folder. Useful for group discussions. Ruth Samson, 423 N. Milton Ave., Whittier, Calif.

WANTED

F.O.R. members, individually or in groups, to insert prepared advertisements in near-by newspapers or other periodicals. Advertisements come in single and double-column widths, and in many newspapers will cost only a few dollars per insertion. Write for samples of ads. Fellowship Publications, 21 Audubon Avenue, New York 32, N. Y.

ABOUT THE ADS

FELLOWSHIP declines advertising which it considers obviously unsuitable. However, it does not want to censor ideas. FELLOWSHIP feels that it is a sound educational and democratic approach to assume that members can and should decide for themselves which ideas they want to follow up and which are useless or repugnant to them.

FOR Field Secretaries

Midwest: Albert Watson, 740 Rush Street, Chicago 11, Ill.; *Far West:* Orval Etter, 905 Creston Road, Berkeley 8, Calif.; *Southwest:* Allan Hunter, 820 So. St. Andrews Place, Los Angeles, Calif.; *Great Lakes:* Glenn Smiley, 1555 Elbur, Lakewood 7, Ohio; *New England:* Richard Hathaway, 9 Park Street, Boston, Mass.; *New York:* 21 Audubon Avenue, New York 32, N. Y.; *Philadelphia:* Charles Walker, 2006 Walnut Street.

What—NO Pictures?

Probably you've noticed by this time. No pictures this issue. Photographs, yes, but no drawings.

The fact is, our artist didn't have time to draw any this month. He's been bent over his drawing-board doing layouts and illustrations for a whole new set of leaflets and pamphlets that had to be ready in time for the FOR membership campaign. They make an attractive set—we hope you find them useful.

WHY SHOULD I JOIN THE FOR?

For pacifists who are not yet members of the Fellowship.

IT'S YOUR CHOICE

"You can be drafted for war or you can volunteer for peace." The challenge of the CO position, for youth of draft age.

WE SHARE A COMMON TASK

Why members of the three Historic Peace Churches should expand their membership into the nondenominational work of the FOR. Testimonials by leading Quakers, Mennonites and Brethren who are FOR members.

JESUS AND THE WAY TO PEACE

The story of the Third Temptation shows the methods Jesus used and taught in relation to war. By A. J. Muste.

IF SHE WERE YOUR LITTLE GIRL . . .

THIS HOUSE IS ABOUT TO BE LIBERATED . . .

HE NEVER CAME BACK TO CHURCH . . .

Three small folders introducing the case for pacifism. Each includes a postage-paid return card on which the reader can request more information. For wide distribution by mail, display on conference and church literature tables, door-to-door campaigns, and wherever else they will be seen and picked up.

FOUR F.O.R. ADVERTISEMENTS

Ready for insertion in local newspapers, religious periodicals, farm or labor journals. Use with local, regional or national address. Captions are: "He Never Came Back to Church"; "If She Were Your Little Girl"; "Wanted—Men Who Can Say NO!"; "Let's Start Building."

What They Cost

These leaflets are intended for free distribution, to win people to pacifism and to membership in the FOR, and they will be supplied to you free in whatever quantities you can use. However, if you can pay for them, or help pay for them, it will make it possible to print and distribute still more. About $1 per 100 will cover the cost in most cases.

FELLOWSHIP PUBLICATIONS

1 Audubon Avenue New York 32, N.Y.

QUIET—Staff Members at Work

Members of the FOR staff have been hard at work over their typewriters recently, with results that you will not wish to miss, to wit:

A. J. MUSTE—

How to Deal with a Dictator

A completely revised and expanded version of the very popular pamphlet of similar name, by the secretary emeritus of the FOR. How the pacifist would deal with the twin problems of war and dictatorship. **.25**

ANDRE TROCME—

The Politics of Repentance

The European secretary of the IFOR originally delivered these lectures as the Robert Treat Paine Lectures for 1951. Top theologian Nels Ferré calls the book, published by Fellowship, "a great human document." Give it to your minister. **2.00**

ALFRED HASSLER—

Diary of a Self-Made Convict

The editor of FELLOWSHIP, in the story of his life in a federal prison as a CO, has produced a book that is winning praise from reviewers and criminologists. "A true and very moving book," says Columbia Professor Frank Tannenbaum, a leading criminologist. "Earnestly recommended for all libraries," suggests *Library Journal*. "The Number One book on CO experiences," comments CCCO *News Notes*. **3.00**

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